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/41 cont./ 2. This suggestion is based both upon the figures following below for kampong Pakatto, the homeland of the Kapala group, as well as upon the impression obtained in the colonists' kampongs.

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/42/ I limited my investigation to the registers of the remaining kampongs of the adat community of Borongloë. In only 7 of these 13 were names of Bontoramba residents encountered by me. The distribution was as follows:

	Sawah Land	Dry Land	Number of Sawah-land Owners	Number of Dry-land Owners
Pagentungang.	1,432 ares	--	48	--
Songkolo . . .	280 ares	354 ares	4	5
Buttadidi . . .	684 ares	37 ares	23	3
Borong	308 ares	904 ares	6	8
Tjambaja. . .	1,428 ares	798 ares	21	5
Pakatto. . . .	514 ares		4	
Parang Banua.	54 ares		2	(1)

1. In Indonesian landholding statistics land held in mortgage or as security was always included.

A glance at the map shows that the first three kampongs border on Bontoramba, and that the fourth is situated very close to it. Kampong Pakatto was already mentioned as the one from which many of the present-day Bontoramba residents are derived;

423 /42 cont./ some of them still appear to have land there, ob-
471 tained through inheritance. The great number of landholdings in Tjambaja is connected with good reclamation opportunities there.

The people from Bontoramba own no land in 6 of the 14 kampongs of Borongloë. Their ownership is concentrated in their immediate vicinity, with the exception of Pakatto and Tjambaja. Territorial-administrative kampong boundaries, [612] therefore, do not seem to affect the relationship of kin groups to land. The distance from the house to the land does seem to be of importance. There is reason to assume that the number of Bontoramba residents owning land outside their adat community as well as inside it (with the exception of people from the Mangenre group) is inconsiderable.

In addition to the Bontoramba residents who have land outside Bontoramba, there are a number of persons residing outside Bontoramba who own /43/ land within the territory of Bontoramba. There were 90 such people. Of these, 68 lived in one of the 13 other kampongs of Borongloë. They owned, together, 1, 522 ares of sawah land and 1, 758 ares of dry land. In the adjoining kampongs of Buttadidi, Pagentungang, Songkolo, and Borong, there lived respectively 27, 8, 11, and 7 of these landowners. In addition, there are 3 more landowners who live in the kampongs of Pakatto, Parang Banua, Bontoa, and Borongkaluku, while in Kotjikang there are 2, and in Tjambaja 1. There does not appear to exist any special interest in Bontoramba territory on the part of Pakatto or Tjambaja residents; this was different the other way around.

The remaining 22 landowners, of whom 2 lived outside Goa and 20 within Goa but outside Borongloë, owned 645 ares of sawah land and 498 ares of dry land (1). Here it is only

1. Among these 22, there were 13 sawah owners and 10 dry-land owners. One man owned dry land in Bontoramba as well as a sawah.

423 /43 cont./ noteworthy that of these 20 landowners, 12 lived in
471 kampong Romangpolong situated very close to Bontoramba, where the Kapala of Bontoramba has a large number of kinsmen.

471 The following figures indicate how the sawah land is
556 distributed over the various houses.
612 The inhabitants of 25 out of the total of 133 houses own more than 1 hectare of sawah land. Twenty-one of these are houses belonging to the Kapala group, and 4 belong to the Rest. The inhabitants of 8 of these 25 houses own more than 2 hectares, and of these, 7 belong to the Kapala group, 1 to the Rest. Only one man has more than 3 hectares; in fact, he owns 7.5 hectares of sawah land. He owes this to his own abilities.

The relationship of individuals to their land, as is apparent from these figures, may therefore be stated quite simply. The administrative kampong boundaries (2) do not appear to be

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2. The kapala collects the taxes on all land located in his kampong territory. He takes care that all men who live there and are able to perform work carry out their services. He reports offences committed in his district, etc.

relevant to the location of land which belongs to kampong residents. Landownership is not restricted by kampong territory.

311 The distance from the living quarters to the fields is,
423 generally speaking, small. The land of the majority of people is located in their own kampong and in one of the kampongs adjoining it. Those who owned land in Tjambaja also had land in Bontoramba itself. This shows that people do not purchase or work /44/ land at a greater distance away until they already own some in their immediate vicinity. The exchange of land
437 between people having land in each other's kampong of residence,
425 with the intention that both will have a piece of land close by, instead of one far removed from their house, occurs regularly.

428 /44 cont./ Generally one acquires distant land through
●471 inheritance. People like to keep (1) land located in the kampong
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1. Compare the data for the colonist groups, pp. 76 ff.

from which they come themselves, or from which their parents come and where kinsmen live. The figures from Pakatto merely indicated that the tie to land situated in the kampong of origin is only gradually loosened when a well-integrated group of relatives has arisen in a new environment.

471 The average landholding amounts to a good one-half hectare of sawah land and almost three-quarters of a hectare of dry land, for each six persons. For the greater part, there-
[241] fore, they are all small farming enterprises (2).

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2. The figures for the most important livestock (buffaloes, goats, horses) among the three groups is as follows:

	Buffaloes	Goats	Horses
Kapala group	193	23	11
Mangenre group.	19	—	--
Rest group.	26	14	1

556 Among the kampong residents it seems that only one
471 individual is in a position to bring together a land area of more
558 than 3 hectares, thanks to special personal qualities. In the generation following his, however, this holding falls apart again, because it rarely happens that a man who brought together the property produces a son capable of keeping it intact.

471 This proportion of landholdings to individuals may be re-
556 garded as normal in the case of these ordinary kin groups. Otherwise, the area is not unacquainted with large landownership.

471 /44 cont./ In kampong Borongpalala, for instance, the total
556 sawah area amounts to approximately 450 hectares. The area of dry land is very insignificant here. Of these 450 hectares, around 160 hectares are in the hands of residents of Borongpalala, and around 290 are in the hands of people who live outside Borongpalala. Approximately 3 hectares of the latter amount belong to a number of small farmers of the Bontoramba type. The rest, almost 290 hectares therefore, belongs to a few kinsmen of the Prince /45/ of Goa, who in part live in kampong Karuisi 15 kilometers away from Borongpalala, and in part in Bone, 250 to 300 kilometers away. This kampong is clearly acquainted with large landownership. Deputies (koasa) of the large landowners direct operations there and collect the proceeds. These conditions will be discussed in the following chapter.

The Harvest Ritual

241 The tie between kampong residents and their land finds
346 expression at the harvest festival, which is held at a certain
778 place in the kampong territory, "the Lord of the Land" (Patanna pa'rasanganga) so-called. At this spot stands an old mango tree, and at its foot lie a few large, flat stones. Next to it a "little house" (saukang) has been built. It rests on four posts; the floor, 1.5 square meters, is about 1.0 meter above the ground; the walls are composed of completely transparent braiding; atop leaves serve as roof covering. In the center a fifth post extends about 20 centimeters through the floor, and this is called the "lopped-off house post" (benteng polong). Tree, stones, and the little house together form an important element of the sawah ritual. Usually, both before the planting as well as after the harvest, but also on other occasions of the rice growing, offerings are presented there, coupled with simple and essentially household festivities. Only the harvest festival will be described here.

241 /45 cont./ When all the sawahs have been completely harvested, the day for the ritual is set. This is the job of the [793] pinati (1) of Bontoramba, who is also the person who carries

1. Pinati is the title of the functionary who is usually charged with the execution of the ritual. Compare B. F. Matthes, Wb., p. 111.

out the actual ritual on that day. Around ten o'clock in the morning, those who wanted to take part in this harvest ritual [821] had already begun to gather at "the Lord of the Land." The ritual must take place before the sun begins to descend again, because, so it is believed, the rising of the sun benefits the growth of the rice. The women brought bowls of offerings 241 with them. Every house is expected to bring an offering, it is 782 said, and one proceeds from the assumption that everyone is interested in the harvest. When the ritual began, I counted only 45 offering bowls from 42 different houses. Thirty-four of these 42 /46/ houses belonged to the Kapala group, 1 was occupied by members of the Mangenre group, and 5 belonged to the Rest group. Two bowls were from people outside Bontoramba who owned land in this region.

The second offering bowl from one and the same house, in two out of three cases, was designated for the second family living in that house.

● 471 In the three out of five cases in which the Rest group brought 241 an offering bowl, it appeared that no one from the house con- 782 cerned had been recorded in the land-tax register. One of these concerned a follower who brought the offering for the sawahs of his master, who lived elsewhere; the second concerned one who worked sawahs belonging to a kinsman residing in Buttadidi; the third case is that of one of the kampong functionaries who •

471 /46 cont./ had just come to live in Bontoramba but who, as
241 yet, possessed no land there. This man nonethless believed
782 that his office compelled him to give tangible proof of his participation in the life of the kampong at this communal festival.

The total number of 45 bowls was regarded as small; the fact that many people were sick was given as an excuse for this.

The conclusion to be drawn from these figures may be, therefore, that at this harvest festival only those people bring an offering who own or work sawahs in Bontoramba and who at the same time believe that they have a certain interest inthis harvest festival.

241 Compared with the other groups, the tendency to participate
612 in this communal festival is more apparent among the members of the Kapala group.

The nonparticipation of 17 of the 18 houses of the Mangenre group may be laid not only to the fact that only a few of them own sawahs in Bontoramba, but also to the fact that in Buginese country saukang festivals occur much less frequently than in Goa. Traditionally, this kind of festival is more
[626] unfamiliar to them. The participation of one of them may be regarded as a sign of submission to the local holders of power and their customs. For if nobody among them had participated, this would not have been appreciated by the Kapala and his relatives. In this case one of them stands for all. It was one of the most prominent members of the Mangenre group who sent a bowl.

539 In answer to the question how this place obtained its name,
773 "Lord of the Land," the following story was told. /47/

1.	Pau-pauanna "Patanna Pa'rasanganga," niarenga Besenga.	The story of "the Lord of the Land," called Besenga.
2.	Riolo nia' sitau rewa ammantang ri Bontoramba.	Once upon a time there was a courageous man who lived in Bontoramba.

554 /109 cont./ completely to the established ideal, the more
565 followers, the greater the standing. But in view of the experience
571 with the adat community head's group of relatives who, even though on /110/ a lower level, gave the same representation of the matter, it is necessary to be careful here, too, so long as we must proceed entirely from unauthenticated reports.

178 The importance of the system of followers in the earlier
571 form described by Kooreman decreased. New forms arose; these are to be found in the big-city relationships of Macassar. In the country areas, the relationship of large landowner to day laborer is an example.

The system of followers in and around the city of Macassar
178 is observable wherever wealthy merchants earn their money
441 by means of the sale and purchase of rice and fish, sand and
571 stones. For their trade they employ a large number of people. This employment relationship can best be described as that of followers to their master in which the personal qualities of the merchant, the punggawa, are of overriding importance. Here, too, a follower avenges an insult done to his punggawa. Here, too, services performed -- frequently in addition to a fixed salary or piece wage -- are rewarded irregularly and in a general way. Here the punggawa also has a personal tie with a number of his people. When he dies his trade immediately goes down. His organization is built upon personal ties with his subordinates.

Large Landownership

● 491 Some characteristics of the system of followers can also
571 be found connected with large landownership (1), in the
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1. No figures are available to indicate precisely when we can begin to speak of large

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/110 cont./ landownership. The examples given here are taken from conditions where no doubt can exist about the existence of large landownership. A single individual in each case owned more than 20 hectares.

relationship of the large landowner to his representative (koasa), and of each of these to their respective laborers. In South Celebes there are, on the whole, sufficient grounds on the basis of which a large number of small farmers could be forced to work the land of others. The form of large landowner-
[554] ship encountered here must be understood from the point of view of relationships obtaining between high and low. The two factors, descent and personal qualities, with which we already have become acquainted above, are important in this respect.

A large landowner generally has a few hundred /111/ sawahs which lie distributed in various kampongs far removed from each other. The landowner himself, who usually lives far away from these, therefore employs someone to be his koasa in a kampong or, if this happens to be convenient, in a district. The koasa sees to it that the sawahs located there are worked. He, in turn, hires a number of people from that region as laborers. The latter receive as many sawah sections as they desire or are able to handle. The koasa's task is to see to it that the sawahs are worked, that this is done as well as possible, that the distribution of the harvested sheaves takes place according to the agreements made, and finally, that a reasonable number of sheaves reaches the landowner. The latter, therefore, must be able to trust his representatives. Consequently, he chooses by preference someone who already has a personal relationship to him and someone who

466 /111 cont./ furthermore has demonstrated that he is capable
● 471 of administering and working his own lands well. A koasa is
571 frequently an energetic personality. Such an individual in turn easily attracts laborers, either among his own kinsmen, or among the other kampong residents. Through his koasaship he gains in standing. The reason that the sunrang was higher for a girl than was customary in her group of relatives was explained by the fact that her father was a koasa.

One whose standing is solely based upon descent will not necessarily be a large landowner at the same time. After all, he frequently may not possess the personal qualities necessary to attach the best koasa to himself; inferior koasa, in their turn, attract inferior workers. The distribution of the harvest is less well organized, the number of sheaves that such a large landowner would receive in his house would therefore be scarcely worthwhile. A large landowner who might attempt to make working contracts which are too advantageous for him would find out that this is not appreciated. As a consequence of such a move workers who do not need his land to provide for their sustenance would either go to work the lands of others, or else start up for themselves.

[565] Not every nobleman, therefore, is able to muster up the initiative and the organizational ability to develop a new complex of sawahs. This can only be done by a nobleman who possesses, in addition to the necessary descent, the personal qualities required for such an undertaking. If these personal qualities are present, many people, rather than setting out for themselves, develop a tract of land for him under the leadership /112/ of one of his koasa. The tie with the superior is then regarded as of great importance (1).

1. Sometimes a person who possesses much land employs a so-called koasa-lompo ("large representative") who, in his turn, hires local

/112 cont./ koasa, sometimes called, for purposes of differentiation, "small representative" (koasa tja'di).

One who owes his standing solely to his personal qualities obtains no more in returns from his land than a person whose standing is based entirely upon his descent, as might be expected on rational economic grounds. During the postwar periods when many Makassarese merchants were earning large sums, one might have expected that many of them would have invested even a small part of their money in pices of land in the interior. One would have thought that they might have bought sawahs, or that at least they would have had large pieces of land entered in their name in the land-tax registers with the purpose of having them developed later. Nothing of this kind, however, appears from the Goa land-tax registers. The opinion of one of these merchants that he did buy jewelry with this money but no land because land is difficult to sell quickly if one needs money merely points to the direction in which the explanation must be looked for.

For a merchant who is not related to the nobility of Goa, it is difficult to attach a good koasa to himself and through him a large number of laborers. If he were to purchase several pieces of land, his share in the harvest would not be worth the trouble. An ordinary kampong individual prefers to work the land of a prominent man from the karaëng group. In that he has confidence; it strengthens his position. A tie with a nobleman always appears valuable. On the other hand, so long as economic necessity is not coercive and the personality of the large landowner does not convince him of his special personal qualities, there is no reason for the kampong man to work for this wealthy stranger. In principle, this stranger is regarded as an equal with whom one can therefore

food. They are much like the old slaves. Indeed, when I use the term hamba [slave] for them, it is accepted, and perhaps they are really the descendents of old slaves. As we talked they became more and more open about poverty. They said there was simply no cash in the kampong, and though there is one rich Arab and the Chinese are rich, relatively speaking, they are not believed to pay taxes [RK later makes the correction that Thierens told him that they do pay taxes]. I explained our system of income tax regulations to them and got very little reaction. They said that much of the income of the kampong, and even of the wanua [Buginese for "country, land, etc."] is in the form of contributions in kind, mainly rice, which is then sold for cash by the kampong or wanua. M 556 465 651 735 567

Then also, for public works such as schools and roads there is great use made of forced labor. I believe this amounts to seven days per month! This is worse than what the Dutch did. If you can pay in money you need not work on the roads. M 651 466 653

I was told that there are practically no stores or factories or anything else locally in the hands of Buginese. The only ones that count at all are in the hands of the Arabs and the Chinese. The one big house in the village which I had seen was that of an Arab. I saw another brick one being built and it too belonged to an Arab. All the toko [stores, shops] except the very small ones belonged to the Chinese. The only type which is purely Buginese is the small, roadside shed-type known as a warung. I did not point out that they [i.e., the Buginese--Analyst] need to work as hard as the Aryans if they want to make money. They just sit in offices. They must learn industry. If I had a chance I would like to tell them frankly that the great need now is to get down to business, education, and regular work; not to become officials. I notice a lot of riding around in cars. Of course, I am quite sure that the Karaeng did not have to make a trip to Makale with two men. But he was on a dienstreis [business trip] of course. And tomorrow Andi has "orders" to come to Makassar (with me) to consult with the Minister of Economic Affairs. What they are doing seems to be mostly playing at running a country. A few, I think, would. I saw two natives today in the office of Thierens and Killewijn, and they were evidently working rather hard on legal cases. But there were two young Dutch officials there too! It is notable that Thierens, a fine man, said, "here are our two Indonesian colleagues, with whom we work in this office." But they need the Dutch, I think. That is, this kind of Dutch. The native offices are like those in the United States when the school boys "take over" M 471 443 563 M 461 463 C 647 563 152 829